

Decision Making Structure and Commoning in local communities
of Jeju island as a commons¹⁾
- Focused on the Case of Haengwon-ri

Ja-Kyung, Kim

1. Introduction

Wind blows. The wind blows to the mountain from the sea. The tree that protects a village is also heading for Mt. Halla, same as the blowing wind. These trees are called '*Pyeonhyangsu*'(편향수, means 'a slanted tree by the wind') in Jeju Island. The wind has been influenced the direction of the tree. The wind, a symbol of suffering and adversity in the past, is turning into a common resource. A village installs wind turbines on its common land and produces electricity. The proceeds of the sale of the electricity become the village fund. A small village in the east of Jeju island has been living with the wind. The name of this village is Haengwon-ri.

The village, Haengwon-ri, has a lot of common resources. It has its own sea, and fresh spring water from the ground, common property(land and ranch, etc). It built its own village building and installed wind turbines. And those facilities became its common resources. The main common resources were mainly natural resources before, but the shared use/production facilities were added in these days. A large notice board is hanging at the Haengwon-ri(village) office.²⁾ It shows the organization chart, population status, list of property of village for all to see. It means all of the villagers recognize them as their common resources. So Jeju island is called 'the island of common resource' due to having a lot of common resources,.

The main common resources of the village are the shared fishing ground and the shared ranch. The shared fishing ground is owned by the state, but the rights to use and the beneficiary right belong to the village. The ownership of the shared ranch is complicated. It is owned by the village or the state or someone. But It is mostly managed by the village shared ranch association cooperation. So villagers recognize the two resources as their own. This management can work because its way is following the village's custom and culture how to use and manage the common

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2) Jeju island has 172 villages. Each village office arranges its common property and shows that information for all to see through big notice board. These village property is strongly recognized as the common resources among villagers. Because of the recognition, there is a heavy dispute between villages surrounding the exact boundary of their village's property like the fishing ground of the sea. In the case of village ranches, there are many lawsuits to be recognized as village members and disputes over ownership of local governments and villages.

resources. Especially, the common resources were managed by a custom, so-called 'gye(계, means 'the villager's cooperation organization with a unique structure of Jeju')

Meanwhile, villages in South Korea were affected in many ways by external condition changes as the Japanese colonial period, the military dictatorship, the rapid technic development, the spread of neoliberalism, the attainment of decentralization and democracy. Many changes by external shocks came over the village and its custom to manage common resources. These changes included not only the dismantling of common resources but also the creation of new forms of it.

In particular, the 'gye' as a villagers' network form related to the use and management of their common resources has been used as an important decision-making structure in the village. The village is forced to take part in the role of local administrative organizations, but it generated profits by using common resources and made a decision about the use and management of the common resources. So it has its own independent and autonomous structure too like 'gye'.

In this study, I will focus on the Heangwon-ri in Jeju island which creates new commons and produces new common wealth, I will also research on how to make the decision-making structure and how to work. So the goal of this study is to explain the complicated activities of the village organizations to use and to manage the common resources in the village. I expect that this study will provide a rich discussion on how to change, culturally and systematically, the recognition and the activity of organizations surrounding the common resources of the village with the shock of external conditions. On the other hand, this study mainly used oral interview data through in-depth interviews. The in-depth interview period is from April to June 2019.

2. Theoretical discussion

1) Problem consciousness

In the early days of common resource research, some studies were mainstream that the problem of 'the tragedy of common land' caused by overuse of common resources was able to be overcome through community management. The controversy of 'the tragedy of commons' that Hadden started in 1968 was concluded by Oström in 1999. This was because many researchers centered around Oström disproved by compiling the cases of numerous regions where the tragedy of the common land did not occur. Then, researchers tried to figure out the cause to dismantle the common resources by the Enclosure Movement in the process of forming the modern country and developing capitalism, and the study focused on the common resources turned up during seeking the alternative movement of capitalism.(P.Linebaugh, 2012; S.Federici, 2013). The global economic recession, the demolition of the community and the polarization of income caused by the spread of neoliberalism mated the

common resource research with its movement and demanded to unify the theory and the movement. Activists like D.Bollier had seen the Enclosure Movement changing the management of common resources and the system of social reciprocity into the market-order to prioritize privatization, pricing, market relations and consumerism(D.Bollier, 2015: 73). So they emphasized the concept of "Commoning" which restored or renewed the common resources. Recently, proliferating the concept of commoning, the movement of common resources has become more active(J. Walljasper, 2013; P.Solon·C.Aguiton·G.Azam·E.P..Beltran, 2018). In addition, there had been appeared studies dealing with cities as common resources rather than natural resources (D.Harvey, 2014). And also other studies dealing with knowledge and information as common resources rather than physical things had been more active. It seemed to be a boom in the study of common resources. This trend is fully revealed in research that summarizes the current status and issues of the Korean Common Resources Research conducted by Jung Young-shin (2016).³⁾

Common resource research is also active in East Asia. In Japan, there is a considerable accumulation of the common resource research centering on the democratic participate system(so call '*iriai*') for managing a village's mountain(井上真, 2014). In recent years, the direction of the common resource research in Japan has changed a little. It focuses not on 'overuse' of common resources that cause common tragedies but on 'underuse' where common resources are no longer meeting the survival and needs of people and common resources are being neglected. (Miyanaga and Shimada, 2018).The concept of 'underutilization' is added to the reality of 'dissolution of local area', and much of Japanese common resource research has been under discussion for a long time from the point of view of rural and urban regeneration.(間宮陽介·廣川祐司, 2013; 小磯修二·草刈健·関口麻奈美,2014; 五十嵐敬喜, 2016). There is a case to make local regeneration by creating a new common resource such as small children's parks.(高村学人, 2012).

'Village' takes a core-part in the flow of this common resource research still because of that the common resource movement is appeared as reconstructing effort to reorganize the customs managing and using a common resource in the village. And it is needed to accumulating researches which across the boundaries between villages, municipalities, and countries. There is a lack of case studies in Korea on the relationship between villages and common resources. It is necessary to study the common resources and the change of villages from past to present.Although Ostrom (2010) explains the principle of using and managing one common resource, there is not only one common resource in the village. In case of several common resources

3) In South Korea, there have been individual studies to apply the principles of Ostrom from the public administration field. The phenomenon is thought that the students of Ostrom returned to South Korea and settled in the field. The study of common resources has gradually begun to proliferate to the other study fields. In September 2011, establishing Jeju National University's Common Resources and Sustainable Social Research Center, the study on common resources was begun.

existed, it is needed to analyze how to set the communication and the decision-making structure of village surrounding the common resources of the village, and which common resources are disappeared or are maintained in the village. And the question of how to make new common resource is needed too. There are many questions in the village to research how to exist the common resource, for example, how to connect between the common resources or how to manage a common resource independently. It is also an important research topic to examine the process of change in the common resources that existed as the means of production that were used and managed together in the village community.

In addition, the village community and the common resources have a complexed characteristic. An organization of the village has changed by external conditions such as Japanese colonialism and military dictatorship and has changed the process of decision-making accordingly. As economic development changes the value of common resources, the use of common resources declines or the common resources is sold. The village community is the unit to make a decision of using and selling the common resources. So the relationship between village organization and common resources is not simple. It is another research topic to identify such complexity.

2) The relationship between the village and the commons

Since ancient times, a village is a community with various functions. It can be classified into five categories - faith-community, economic community, education-community, living-community, and welfare community. The experts who have been active in the village re-making of Jeju island for a long explain the functions that the village of Jeju performs according to this division as follows(라해문·김진숙, 2017: 239). First, the faith-community is performing an exorcism('당제 DangJae⁴⁾' or '마을포제 Village PoJae⁵⁾') in the early day of every year for the welcome of the village. There is a study that shows that a shrine owned by the village is well managed and maintained, and that the shrine as commons maintains the village (송경희, 최현, 2018). According to this study, it was confirmed that some of the shrines owned by the state or local governments, corporations and individuals were destroyed by the development project. Second, there are various economic communities in the village, such as 'fishing village gye(계)⁶⁾' for fishing in the sea, 'water gye' for managing the water to be used for farming, and 'stockbreeding gye' for putting the cattle or horse out to pasture for using them for agriculture. Kim (2018) described the village as an economic community centered on pastoral cultures which related to livelihood agriculture in Jeju in the past. And there are a 'Mokchuk-gye' in a village as well as various 'gye', and those 'gye' are organically linked so that take a role of

4) 당제(DangJae) : an exotic ritual for the welcome of village by a shaman

5) 마을포제(Village PoJae) : a confucian ritual for the welcome of village by men in Jeju Island.

6) 계(Gye) : a corporative group in a rural area.

a secure network to maintain livelihood economy of the village. However, as farming techniques such as tractors, pesticides, and fertilizers developed, the need of the 'Mokchuk-gye' was declined, then the village common ranch was on the brink. In other words, the crisis of the village community could be confirmed as the conflict surrounding the sale of village common ranch. Third, the education community is a traditional school in the village. When there is no modern school, the village usually made 'Seodang-gye'. Fourth, living-community is a kind of house where villagers live daily life. There are various 'Chinmok-gye(친목계)' to make close rapport in their daily life. Fifth, it is a welfare community. The most important event of a lifetime is a funeral. There is 'Sangyeo-gye(상여계)' to set the funeral event together. And a common facility such as a hall for the elderly is built, women social group and senior group and other groups are organized. They sometimes are having food together on a certain date. It is said the welfare community. However, It's a reality that those functions of the communities are considerable weakening now. This study is going to focus on the economic community among various village functions.

However, Hong Sung-tae does not regard 'village' and 'community' as the same concept (홍성태, 2017: 311). The reason is that if we equate 'village' with 'community', there possibly is a growing tendency to stress on the community as the social relationship and to ignore the material foundation of the village as commons. "A village is not simply a combination of individuals and their private property. A village becomes a community only after it has created common resources. Because of this, a village without commons is easy to be dismantled but not to be preserved.(홍성태, 2017: 312). "

We can be easily understood the phenomenon by looking deep into the origin of Jeju Village. Jeju is an island made of a volcanic eruption, and its soil is consist of mostly volcanic ash. So the soil doesn't have much water. Jeju usually does not have a flowing river and have very few rice fields. Because of it, a village is formed along the spring water gushed out from the ground. This spring water is called '물통 Mul-tong(means 'water-bucket')' in Jeju dialect. Most of Mul-tong are formed along the coast. Therefore, a village of Jeju was formed along the Mul-tong. The Mul-tong becomes an important commons of a village. The concept of '동네 Dong-nae', which means neighborhood in Korean, also includes the meaning of water. Therefore, each village in Jeju gives its Mul-tong each name and established the management rules for the Mul-tong. We can easily agree with the view that 홍성태(2017) argues that a community could be formed by running rules of commons of a village. But today, the function of Mul-tong is weakened due to the widespread of water and sewerage system into individual houses. The role of a community surrounding the Mul-tong has been lost. The functioning of the economic community necessary for the survival of a village community is weakened for a similar reason. Commons were an important means of production for survival and its using value was very high. Even though the ownership is so complicated, villagers do not consider it and they fairly use and

manage it. Everyone has the right of it. It is a kind of system to overcome the so-called scarcity of resources. In this way, the village community cannot be maintained without commons. Today some villages with a weakened economic community cannot revive its economy even if they will strength functions of other communities. The policy of Community Building must not let pass this problem. In addition, discussion on not only a using value but an asset value of commons is needed. The land of the village(communal ranch or village-owned land) is also important as a commons. Especially, a village communal ranch was an important means of co-production in Jeju agriculture. However, with the introduction of agricultural machinery, fertilizers, and pesticides, the using value of the village communal ranches have fallen (Kim, 2017). Most of the commons have started to be sold for development of tourist sites such as golf courses. In the 1990s, the protests as the resident's movement against the development work such as Golf Club, etc was spreading from Gumak-ri(금악리) but it could not reduce the speed of village communal ranches' sale in Jeju Island. As skyrocketing, the value of assets, residents have begun to get the sale of village communal ranches on the agenda at the town assembly. And civil society organization and other people of another village do not have a right to participate in the process of decision-making for the village ranch cooperative club because they are not a member of the village. As the value of assets rises, the ownership is given only a member of the ranch cooperative club strictly. As agricultural technology such as mechanization etc, developed, the village did not need cattle's force. Village ranches could be maintained by grazing cattle, but the number of village communal ranches is decreasing due to new investment and the livestock market decline. The commons of the village is facing various challenges such as a decline in effective value and an increase in asset value. Therefore, there are some villages that try to protect commons, but some villages that do not. Gashi-ri(가시리) and Seonheul-1ri(선흘1리) are examples of successful villages that have been well-preserved its commons. (Choi Hyun, Jung Young Shin, Yun Il Il, 2017).(최현·정영신·윤여일 편, 2017).

On the other hand, the villages that have maintained the commons so far must pursue social value using common value, a value of the property, and communities. Social values can be manifested in many ways, depending on how the income generated from the use of commons is utilized. The income can be a scholarship for the publicity of the village, and it can be used as a joint fund to be used for small and large events of the village. It could also be used as a basic income of the villagers. This is all the creation of social value.

I selected a village called Haengwon-ri in the target village of this study. I will also look at the relationship between Haengwon-ri village and its commons from the past to the present. The reason for choosing Haengwon-ri was because I could see the process of creation and destruction of commons in one village while there were many commons. In addition, I could be looking at the process of utilizing commons and I

could be looking a case to utilize a using value, asset value, and social value at the same time. Another reason is that there is an anthropological researcher's preliminary study on Heangwon-ri. Through the study of 伊地知紀子(2013), there was an advantage that I could preview the life of Heangwon-ri village people in advance.

3. The past and the present of Haengwon-ri examined through the change of its commons

1) The begin of a village, 'Mul-tong'(spring water)

It is estimated that the village 'Haengwon-ri' was established by about 500 years ago. It is told that a person whose family name 'Kim' settled down in 'deumbeng-i-mul(등벙이물)' where is about 1.5km to south of Heangwoon-ri, and he farmed a swidden for living. He was moved to the coast(present location of Haengwon-ri) by the problem of drinking water in 1553. And other people moved to the place, so the village 'Haengwon-ri' was formed. From the 1530s to the late 1800s, according to the record book or the old map, the name of the village was written 'eodeungpo'(어등포 ; '於等浦' or '魚登浦', 제주특별자치도문화원연합회, 2017: 310~311). In 1899, "Jeju Country/Eup Journal" wrote the name of the village as 'Heang Won-ri', and the name of the administrative district had been lasting until now(제주특별자치도 문화원연합회, 2017: 697). As you can see from the origin of the village, many of Jeju's natural villages were formed around place where people can get a drinking water easily.

“In the past, the village was organized with three 'Jo-Hap(‘조합’ ; a kind of group)’, but after changing to Jo-Hap of six, and it became 'Dong(동)’ of six. Three Jo-Hap in a village meant there are three Mul-tong(spring water) in a village. But only one Mul-tong, 'Daemul-tong' which people can drink water, is left near 'Yondae Bong'. On the shore side of the village there are two Mul-tong, Jiseo-Mul and Mallaeng-i Mul. Women were bathing in the Jiseo-Mul, and Men in the Malraengyee-Mul.” (Interviewed Park Joon Woong, 89 years old, Park Je-woon, 71 years old, April 11, 2019,).

According to the records, Heangwoo-ri's spring waters were 'Guleong-mul'(구렁물), 'Deobung-mul(더붕물)', 'Jiseo-Mul(지서물)', 'Mallaeng-i-Mul(말랭이물)', 'San-eung-Mul(산응물)', 'Bollaenang-Mul(볼래낭물)'. 'Guleong-mul'(구렁물), 'San-eung-Mul(산응물)' and 'Bollaenang-Mul(볼래낭물)' were lost. And 'Deobung-mul(더붕물)' is no longer used due to lack of water flow. 'Jiseo-Mul(지서물)', 'Mallaeng-i-Mul(말랭이물)' is well maintained as you see on the <Photo 1>. In addition to the MI-tong, there are several wetlands in the village. A wetland is a pool of water which rainwater is gathered. In the past when the water supply facility was not well equipped, wetland water was used for agricultural water and livestock water in very handy.

Soesileub-mul(natural pond, washing place, bathing place), Beomjuli-mul-tong(natural pond, several heron came frequently) are remained by now(제주특별자치도문화원연합회, 2017: 41). The Mul-tong as the origin of Heang woo-ri is vanishing due to the spreading of a water supply facility.



Photo by Ja-Kyung Kim (April 11, 2019)

<Photo 1> The commons of 'Heangwoon-ri' : Jiseo-Mul(left) and Mallaeng-i Mul(right).

2) Sea as the commons : Common fishing ground of the village

In Jeju island, villagers usually did not name of their village.⁷⁾ Other villagers or an administrative organization named it. The old name of 'Heangwoon-ri' is 어등개 (eodeung-gae). It means that the village got('어등(eodeung)' in Jeju dialect) a good sea('개(gae)' in Jeju dialect).⁸⁾ The other villagers probably envied a richness of the village's sea. In fact, Haengwon-ri was one of the main ports. Ships could easily be brought alongside the port because of a deep of the village's sea. It is regrettable that the name of the village, which used to reveal the abundant resources of the sea, has been changed Haengwon-ri in the administrative region.

Heangwon-ri was made up of six natural villages. The natural villages of Heangwon-ri consist of dong(East)-dong, Jung(Middle)-dong, Jungang(Center)-dong, Sang(Upper)-dong, Ha(under)-dong, and Seo(West)-dong (see <Photo 2>). However, the people of Heangwon-ri call a natural village as a Jo-hap(means 'union'). Dong Dong is 1st Jo-hap, Jung-dong is 2nd Jo-hap, Joong-dong is 3rd Jo-hap, Sang-dong is 4th Jo-hap, Ha-dong is 5th Jo-hap and Seo-dong is 6th Jo-hap⁹⁾. The Jo-hap was changed to be called 'Dong' recently. It's been less than 20 years¹⁰⁾. Why they do call the natural towns 'Jo-hap'. The so-called 'Jo-hap' was associated with the sea, a

7) An Interview with Kwang-min Ko(born Heangwoo-ri, a folklorist), March 14, 2019.

8) Meanwhile, there is another interpretation of the village's name '어등개(eodeung-gae)'. It is '漁登浦(eodeung-gae)' in Chinese characters. Heangwoo-ri is very windy town and its port is well developed, so its sea has abounded of fish. In that sense, it means the village where fishes come. By any account, Heangwoo-ri must have a good sea(as a commons).

9) One old lady of the village is still saying that "I got married to a man of 1st Jo-hap of this village". Others are saying in a very similar way. (Interview villagers, April 11, 2019)

10) Interview the office manager of the village, April 11, 2019

commons of the village. The village organization that uses and manages the sea is 'eochon-gye'(어촌계 ; means 'a fishing union in a village'). There are 6 natural villages, and each village has its own Jo-hap. The sea was the most important common resource for earning a livelihood. It was assigned to each village to use it equitably. For that reason, the name of the natural villages has been called Jo-hap that manages the sea. It is clearly revealed the relationship between villages and commons.¹¹⁾



- * the six of white circle are indicated natural towns.
- * Photo by Kim Jakyung in front of the village office.

<Photo 2> Haengwon-ri village map.

The sea of Haengwon-ri as the main commons ranges from Jipeun-gae(지픈개, a name of sea ground) to Deobaeng-i-mul(더뱅이물) as shown in <Photo 3>. The village has a relatively larger fishing ground that the other neighboring villages. "A front sea ground of the village as a kind of fish farm, villagers raise seed abalones and get production once for a year. Turban shells and a trumpet shells were produced from the lowest tide to the 7th tide(30th and 15th date of every month by the lunar calendar), seaweed and ceylon moss from the 2nd ~ 3rd(10th ~ 11th and 25th ~ 26th date of every lunar month) tide to the 6th ~ 7th(14th ~ 15th and 29th ~ 30th

11) There are a variety of units that call nature villages in Jeju Island. The most commonly used unit is 'Dong'. The most important organization in decision making is the general assembly of Dong, and chief of the assembly becomes a representative of the village. The places where the unit be called 'Jo-hap' are Woljeong-ri and Haengwon-ri in Gujwa-eup. On the other hand, the unit is called 'Gol' at the Aewol-ri(a village located on the west side of Jeju City). Aewol-ri decision mainly is made by the Gol meeting. In the case of Sagye-ri with no natural villages, the village is divided into 28 'Ban' and each delegate of the Ban is elected, and they make the village decision (Jang Sung-soo · Yang Young-chul, 1989).(장성수·양영철, 1989).

date of every lunar month)tide. Seashell, sea urchin, seaweed, sea cucumber were produced from October to March, and breeding season is the summer season. And some sea products were produced at a particular time for a year." (제주특별자치도문화원연합회, 2017: 476). Each sea products have a producing period, no one can break it.

Villagers of Haengwon-ri largely divided the sea into three areas and assigned two areas to two out of three Jo-haps routinely. Due to the physical conditions of the sea, the circumstances of growth of marine plants and fish and shellfish would be changed every each year. So if one Jo-hap used continually one area of the three seas, other Jo-haps build up their complaints against it. It's a system to remove the complaints which they are using the sea by turns.



* The sea of Haengwon-ri ranges from Jipeun-gae(지폰개, a name of sea ground) to Deobaeng-i-mul(더뱅이물)

* Source : Phone-number book of Haengwon-ri.

<Photo 3> A commons of Haengwon-ri : sea field (common fishing ground of the village),

“From Jipeun-gae(지폰개) to Geobunmog(거분목) for 1st and 2nd Jo-hap, from Geonnan-di(건난디) ~ Mosalgos(모살것) ~ Keundogoli(큰도고리) for 3rd and 4th Jo-hap, from Ojeoyeo(오저여) ~ Dwisteoji(뿔터지) ~ Deobaeng-i-mul(더뱅이물) for 5th ~ 6th Jo-hap, the six Jo-haps are using and managing. The sea of Ojeoyeo(오저여) is not good sea-field, the sea of Geobunmog(거분목) and Dwisteoji(뿔터지) are very good to cultivate hijiki. In recently, the sea of Deobaeng-i-mul(더뱅이물) is very good to produce ceylon moss.” (Interview Park Joon-wong(89 yrs old) and Park Je-woon(71 yrs old), April 11, 2019)

On the other hand, Ostrom sorts the commons into a resource system and resource units. Resource systems are used and managed commonly, but resource units are not used commonly(Ostrom, 2010: 71~73). If the sea of Haengwon-ri was a resource system, hijiki or ceylon moss, seaweed are used or managed commonly or individually. hijiki or ceylon moss were distributed equally, because its interest is very higher than

the value of seaweed production. So they chose common working.

“Seaweed can be freely harvested and sold by individuals, except hijiki seaweed. However, hijiki seaweed must be harvested in cooperation with all of the villagers. If someone will be out of the common work, the one must pay some fine called 'gwol(궐)'. For the person, It will be deducted as much as the amount of the fine from the profits of selling the hijiki seaweed in real. The proceeds of the sale are fairly split only for people who joined the common work.” (Interview, Park Joon Woong (89 years old), Park Jae Woon (71 years old) April 11, 2019).

The organization that manages the sea is an eochon-gye(a fishing cooperation group). As of January 2019, its member is 297 persons.¹²⁾ The eochon-gye is divided into 2 membership, a general member and a sea-lady member(diving society). A general member can harvest hijiki or ceylon moss only, but a sea-lady can harvest them and seafood and shellfish(제주특별자치도문화원연합회, 2017: 474). The area of Haewon-ri's sea(the village fishing ground) is 248.4ha and the working area per person is 3.2ha(제주특별자치도문화원연합회, 2017: 891). Heangwoon-ri's eochon-gye has two memberships, sea ladies and ship owners(6 ships belong to the eochon-gye), except for general membership. Because of that, the main member is sea-ladies. In case of a man having the membership, his wife might have died and he might inherit her membership.¹³⁾ The main aquatic products are turban shell, sea urchin, ceylon moss, hijiki and so on.

On the other hand, there is a trace of 'Wondam(원담)' on the side of the Haengwon-ri's port. It is a type of fishery that was carried out in the intertidal zone of rocky high tide. When the fishery could not be produced due to bad weather like high winds and wave, and ritual food like fish do not have enough for a memorial event, people catch fishes at the Wondam like the minimum fisher facility and perform ancestral rites(제주역사문화진흥원, 2010: 156).

3) Land as a commons : Village communal ranch

Heangwon-ri is a village that combines agriculture and fishery.¹⁴⁾ Farming at

12) Before the current fishing-village-gye was reorganized, it has a different form. 'Haenyeo'(means female diver) was divided into the superior, middle, and low divers depending on the diving ability. The leader of the superior divers was called 'Sang-zamsu(means the best diver). 'Sang-zamsu's, each 'Sang-zamsu' leads about 30 'Haenyeo'. The ten Sang-zamsus were gathered and organized the fishing-village-gye.(Interviewed on April, 18, 2019, Kang-Deungja(82 years old))

13) Interview, Park Joon Woong (89 years old), Park Jae Woon (71 years old) April 11, 2019).

14) Heangwon-ri is close to the coast and there are few large-scale fields. So they mostly are small-scale farmers and earns the profit from fishery rather than agriculture. But the villages in the western of Jeju Island earn their income mainly from agriculture rather than fishing. This is due to differences in soil and sea physical conditions between East and West. In the west, there are lots of clay, so even if you plant the same crop as the east, the yield is higher or heavier than the east. The land of east is light volcanic

Heawon-ri was not easy. The wind of Jeju in the past was a symbol of suffering and adversity. Eastern of Jeju included Heawon-ri is not a good place for farming due to the wind and especially the wind. The typhoon usually blew up a lot of sandy soil, and the exposing lava ground even was rampant. The agricultural form of Heawon-ri in the past is as follows

“Previously, Heangwon-ri’s people cultivated such as millet, barley, buckwheat, ‘Sandy’ rice, and sweet potato. At every farm house, they usually farmed using a cow. There was a ‘feeding-cattle-gye’(cow feeding system, called ‘Mok-chuk gye(livestock group)’ or ‘Beonsoe’). They fed grass to the cows in the village ranch. The Heangwon-ri common ranch lacked ‘Chol(Jeju dialect of cow’s food; grass)’. Because of the lack of ‘Chol’, ‘Gye’ consists of people of two Dongs(a part of village organizations) who have a similar situation with cows. The ‘feeding cow gye’ is a kind of a rotation system to feed cows by turns. Every member of the groups has to take their turns as much as how many cows they have. The ranch was divided into three areas, and each area was used by two of six Dongs.” (Interview, Park Joon Woong (89 years old), Park Jae Woon (71 years old) April 11, 2019).

“Haengwon-ri did not have much of a ‘Kangbat’ (a muddy field in a dialect of Jeju), people farmed barley in the muddy field. Catching anchovy and dring it, and we put it into the field. And we farmed barley on the field. The dried anchovy is like a fertilizer. Like that, agriculture needs a lot of manpower.” (Interview, Kim Chun-hwa (91 years old) and Yoon Yu-ok (89 years old), on April 18, 2018).

“When we were giving a fertilizer, we gave ‘deumbug’ (a kind of gulfweed) too. We put it in ‘guduck’(a bamboo basket of Jeju style) and carried it to the field from the seashore. I married when I was about 25 years old and I had formed ‘Seven-princesses social meeting’. For the first time of the meeting, every member paid 100,000 KRW, and took a trip together sometimes and helped each other with farm-work or family events. When my age is over 70 years old, I have broken the meeting up because I’m getting weak and could not farm anymore.” (Interviewed on April, 18, 2019, Kang-Deungja(82 years old))

Heangwon-ri's people cultivated such as millet, barley, buckwheat, 'Sandy' rice, and sweet potato. They usually were using a cow for farming, and they need grass to feed the cows. Therefore, they got it from the village-ranch which is the commons of Haengwon-ri. Prior to registration as a common ranch association by the Japanese colonial government in 1934, there was a feeding-cattle-gye. The

ash or sandy soil with few clays. Eventually, they farmed mainly root vegetables. (Interviewed on April 11, 2019, the Director of Technology department, Dongbu Agricultural Technology Center).

'feeding-cattle-gye(Mok-chuk-gye)' was organized when they need, but they quickly have been broken it up when the need was gone. The gye's characteristic is non-sustainability¹⁵⁾ The common ranch is using the same way of how to use the common sea.

Currently, the organization that manages the village-common-ranch is the Haengwon-ri Ranch Association. The Haengwon-ri Common Ranch is being left untouched because there are few villagers who raise cattle. It is difficult to raise a large income even if a cattle are sold to the livestock market, and there is no one to borrow a pasture and can not lease. The land owned by the village except for the common ranch is lent to the individual and is used for agricultural use. Currently, the main agricultural products of Haengwon-ri are carrots, potatoes, scallions, garlic and so on.

So far, looking at the livelihood economy and commons of Haengwon-ri, the village-common-sea and the common ranch are linked, mainly in agriculture. It is also characterized that six natural communities in the village fairly used the commons by turns. If only one community monopolized the commons, there would be a discord between the communities. In consideration of this, various devices have been devised for the fair-use of the commons. The commons are essential for maintaining a livelihood of the village. Therefore, it is judged that the way, people in Hangwon-ri villagers mutually communicated and made decisions for a long time, has become a practice of fair and equitable use of commons. If anyone pursuit of the one's own interests, there would be a conflict in the village. On the other hand, among the commons, the sea which can still raise the income is well used, but the utilization of the common ranch has been remarkably decreased as the village people who have raised cattle disappear.

4) Wind, Becoming a commons of Haengwon-ri.

In the past, the wind was a symbol of suffering. The strong sea breeze was great difficulty in farming the sandy fields, and the trees gave off branches in the direction of the winds and became a unique wind direction branches. The distribution of houses in Haengwon-ri shows clearly the arrangement of houses oriented from northeast to southwest direction. It's reflected that the regional characteristics of Haengwon-ri, which has a larger amount and intensity of wind than other villages.(Jeju Historical Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 179~180) This wind has become a commons of Haengwon-ri.

As the primary industry has declined in general, the Haengwon-ri, which combines agriculture and fishery, will make new decisions. For the development of the village, it starts to show an active appearance to attract 'external investment'. A village project usually propels through the town assembly. Even though there are discussions on

15) Interviewed on April 18, 2019, Kim Youngho (79years old)

the pros and cons of the project between villagers, if the direction of the project is settled once, the project is proceeding as it is determined. "When a project of installing wind power generation facilities was propelling in 1997, there was also a lot of opposition and protest of the villagers. However, the perspective of villagers had changed and they centered an age group of fifty, started to attract actively an external investment since visiting of developed regions.(제주역사문화진흥원 Jeju History and Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 189~190). The head of the village who led the establishment of the Haengwon Wind Power Corporation at that time, told the press as follows.

“It was not easy to set up the generator with villagers’ active participation. The villagers lacking expertise had many difficulties for taking steps such as corporate establishment and environmental assessment. However, the villagers had many meeting to discuss several issues about the project. Their active communications and consensus paved the way for the successful drive on the project.”¹⁶⁾

Since 1997, the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy (MOCIE) and Jeju local government(20.3 billion KRW in the budget) have started to install wind power generators along the coast of Jeju island, and completed in early May 2005. The wind power plant project was accepted by Haengwon-ri, and the project subsidies paid to the village. 15 generators -total capacity of 9.8MW- were installed in the village. In addition, the village installed one wind power generator by itself. In October 2011, the 'Jeju Special Self-governing Province Wind Power Project Permission and District Designation Ordinance' was enacted. Based on this, Haengwon-ri established a corporation for wind energy specialization village in September. The head of the village as the principal promoter led the villagers to participate and one wind turbine was installed in March 2013 by a village fund which collected the wind power subsidies and loans by the time. Thus, the wind of Jeju, which was a symbol of suffering, became a new common and a new source of revenue for the Haengwon-ri. Jeju local government explained, "The residents' community will secure stable income sources, so a healthy community will be built and the publicness of wind resources will strengthen."¹⁷⁾

Also, since 2005, the villagers have begun to participate actively attracting external investment (Jeju Historical Culture Promotion Agency 제주역사문화진흥원, 2010: 189 ~ 190). Since 2008, the Jeju local government has begun to support the 'Village Investment Promotion Group'. "The Village Investment Promotion Group acts as an intermediary for attracting investment by organizing the details of the land owned by the village and providing land information to business investors selected as investment

16) Danbi News by June 1, 2014, 「생기 잃은 어촌 되살린 ‘하얀 날개」
<http://www.danbinews.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=4107>

17) Omynews by November 17, 2018 「바람 많아 살기 힘들었던 제주, 바람으로 역대 수입 벌다」
<http://www.chynews.com/NSWeb/View/Gap?ONINCO=0024678&OPLC#001&mcampaign=news&msource=daun&mrnd=chnews>

priority objects. And other purposes of the group is to resolve conflicts among villagers and to encourage villagers to participate in the project from the planning stage."¹⁸⁾ As a result of these efforts, the Polo Riding Resort in Jeju was built at Haengwon-ri in 2008.

Even in the early 2000s, when someone was about to establish a private fish-farm along the coastal area of the village, all of the villagers were strongly against it. Eventually, the fish-farm was repelled. But the situation has changed now. The foreign investment inducement policy for promoting International Free City has stimulated the desire of villagers who have kept the commons, and the organization 'Village Investment Promotion Group' is appeared. At this point, the cracks between commons and villagers have shown. By using the sea and pasture, activities for the village's household are gradually declining and for earning profits is increasing. In the sea, there are aquatic products such as turban shell and hijikia, etc that are still sold at good prices but the Haenyeo(sea-diver woman) are becoming aging. In the case of pasture, there is no demand at all and it is being neglected for a long. Many agricultural things were put into there, but it was not easy to use it. At this time, villages have responded to the 'Village Investment Promotion Group' policy, because the villages needed a new means to generate an income. At the crack point between commons and villagers, there is an external capital.

5) Various commons

In addition to the wind, new commons are being created. Recently, a village hall, a rural exchange center, and a processing facility have been established in the rural area being subsidized by the administration (구자인, 2017: 3). In the same way, the property of Haengwon-ri is gradually increasing. The welfare center for the elderly in 1995, the gateball gym in 2008, and the diver undressing facility(bathroom) in 2009 were built as public facilities in the village. The diver undressing facility is made for the convenience of the Haenyeo(female diver) but it is used as a public facility for all of the villagers. it is recognized as village property and commons. These are specified as the village's property and the public facilities on the status board of the village office. The welfare center has a village office, a fishing-gye office, and a youth office and some space is rented by the agriculture cooperation office. There is a senior hall opposite the welfare hall. Every Monday and Thursday, town elders gather here for lunch. The welfare center is a 'village property' and a 'commons'. Even if the budget of the administration is input, if those are very close with the livelihood and life of the village, in terms of that villagers make rules and keep them, and create social relations, it can be a commons. From this point of view, it is considered that new commons are constantly being created in Haengwon-ri. On the other hand, in other regions of Korea, 'village hill' or 'field for the head of the village' as commons are

18) Newsis by May 3, 2008 「각종 개발사업 투자유치에 마을이 앞장」
<https://news.v.daum.net/v/20080503152808150?f=o>

almost disappearing (구자인, 2017: 3). In the case of Haengwon-ri, the village pasture is rarely used, and nobody knows when the villagers sell it.

In addition, Haengwon Agricultural Industrial Complex in 1989, Haengwon Dongbu Landing Fish-farm Complex in 1999 were established. Korea Marine Science & Technology Institute, Marine Fisheries Research Center of Korea, and Jeju Energy Corporation 's new and renewable energy promotion center came into the village and made a new landscape. Haengwon-ri has commons, but the landscape of the village is different from the past.

4. Nested Decision-Making Structure and Commons of Haengwon-ri.

1) Village operation structure of Jeju in the past

Haengwon-ri is composed of six natural communities, and each community has independently secured drinking water, the sea ground and pasture for maintaining a livelihood of the community, and a bier for a funeral. By the way, it is said that the village was originally a combination of three Jo-hap.¹⁹⁾ In other words, it was changed from three to six Jo-hap combinations, that is, six natural communities. It was difficult to find a record revealing the life of the village when it was a combination of three communities. Therefore, from the village structure of Doosun-ri which was recorded in "Jeju Life History"(Ko, Kwangmin, 2016), I try to deduce the past village structure and lifestyle of Haengwon-ri.²⁰⁾

The Doosun-ri village organization consists largely of the three Eutteum(으뜸) persons, Kyung-min-jang(경민장), Gamguan(감관). Each Eutteum is the person, head of a natural community. Three Eutteum are Su-Eutteum(수으뜸), Bu-Eutteum(부으뜸) and Sam-Etteum(삼으뜸). Su-Eutteum of the three would be the leader of the whole village. If the Su-Eutteum is deceased, the Bu-Eutteum will inherit the position of Su-Eutteum, and the Sam-Eutteum will inherit the position of Bu-Eutteum. And the Sam-Eutteum will be elected at the village assembly. Under the three Eutteum, Kyung-min-jang(경민장), Gamguan(감관) are placed. Kyung-min-jang(경민장) takes charge of the judiciary and administration of the village. The officer is responsible for the management of the village's fund and family register, and the convocation of general meeting. Gamguan(감관) is kind of the local sheriff gainfully employed. The person controls inhabitant, Kepa-Jang(케파장, means a keeper for a ranch), and servants who are employed by the village. The servant takes a role to give public services and to manage Dang-je(당제, means 'a rite of village tutelary spirit') and the four ceremonial occasions of coming of age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites in

19) Interview on April 18, 2019. Park Jun-ung(89 years old)

20) Interview on March 14, 2019, Ko Kwangmin(a Jeju local folklorist; He has studied Jeju 's life history for a long time, and he distinguishes Jeju from before and after the 1970s development paradigm. Considering the previous period as a period of the livelihood economy, the structure of Doosun Village is regarded as a prototype of Jeju Village structure.

the village. The village structure of Doosun-ri is maintained until the 1950s (Ko, Kwang-min, 2016).

The main decision of the village would have been made through the village assembly. It is because they elected the Eutteum through village general meeting. Through the Eutteum system, lives and order of village were managed. The servant, who is in charge of the lives of the village, and the Kepa-Jang, who is in charge of economical practical affairs of the village, are employed person.

It is presumed that, when Haengwon-ri has three Jo-hap, the village had a similar village structure centered Eutteum system like the example of Doosun-ri. There was a 'Gamguan(감관)' that played an important role in agriculture in the village, so there would have been a governor overseeing the sea in Haengwon-ri.²¹⁾

2) Haengwon-ri Village Organization

Currently, the number of households in Haengwon Village is as follows. According to the "Jeju-Eup Journal", there are 99 households(305 men and 305 women, total of 631 persons) in the 18th century.(Jeju Historical Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 26) In 1904, there were 140 households(346 men and 419 women, total of 765 persons) (Jeju Special Self-governing Council Association, 2017: 56). Even in the 1970s and 1980s, it was a large village with a population of 1,500, but the population has gradually decreased to the present (Jeju Special Self-governing Council Association, 2017: 78). As of January 2019, Haengwon-ri has 586 households(626 male and 586 female) with a total population of 1,212.

The community of Haengwon Village consists of the following (see Table 1). The organization that makes the overall decisions of the village is the Haengwon Village Assembly. It holds regular general meetings and supervises the entire event of the village. The entire event of the village are a village festival, a dive gut('굿', means a rite of shamanism), and a sports event. The Haengwon Ranch Association and the Haengwon Fishing Gye are the organizations which decide on the commons of the village. In 2012, the corporation of Haengwon wind energy specialization village was newly founded for the new commons. The senior society, the women's society, and the youth society manage the lives of the village. The Haengwon Scholarship Foundation is established in 2013 and provides scholarships to juveniles in the village.

21) Haengwon-ri was a semi-farming and fishing village, in the same sense of 'Gumguan(감관)' there would have been a person in charge of the order of the sea ground. It was confirmed that there was a head of female divers prior to the formation of the fishing-gye, but it was not certain what kind of the name of the position was called, and it was difficult to confirm it.

<Table 1> Community Activities in Haengwon Village (January 2019)

Name of Organization	Member	Number of Meeting	Registration Date	Major Activities
Haengwon village	villagers	occasionality		Overall in the village
Haengwon Ranch Association	villagers	occasionality		Overall fo the village ranch
Haengwon Fishing Gye	297 persons	occasionality		Overall of the fishing community. (Including the female diver club)
Haengwon Senior Society	205 persons	1 time/month		Improvement of the elderly's welfare cleaning Town and managing the elderly hall.
Haengwon wemen Society	120 persons	four times / year		Cooperation in village event / collecting recycle garbage, etc.
Haengwon Youth Society	75 persons	1 time/month		organizing village sports evernt / Cooperation in village event / Epidemic prevention activity / Preserving the environment.
Haengwon wind energy specialization village	villagers	four times / year	2012	Managing the wind power generator
Haengwon Scholarship Foundation	vilaggers	four times / year	July 2013 8.	Scholarships for students from Haengwon-ri.

* data originated by the office of Haengwon-ri

It is the village structure of <Figure 4> that the community of Haengwon village is organized by decision structure. The characteristic feature of the Haengwon village organization chart is that there is no vertical line showing the vertical structure. All of the village organizations have an equal relationship, but the Haengwon wind energy corporation, the Haengwon scholarship foundation, and Haengwon ranch association belong to the village²²⁾. The native groups in the village are Senior society, woman's society, youth society. All of the six natural villages, the corporation of the village, and the native group manage the accounting individually. The board members of the village are 17 persons which are seven for the development committee, six for natural villages, three for audit, and the head of the village. By the way, the main decision is made through the village joint meeting. The joint meeting adds 4 representatives of the native groups and former head of the village with the board of the village, so its member is 23 persons. The joint meeting has very limited authority, but it is an organization to gather and discuss the opinions of villagers. The joint meeting can decide most of the village's things except the village business project. On the other hand, the executive council of the village handles the finance, and the development committee is responsible for the village development project.

22) Interviewed on June 12, 2019, Haengwon-ri village's officer(44years old)



* data originated by Haengwon Village, “Haengwon-ri Telephone Book”²³⁾

<Figure 4> Haengwon village organization chart

Among these, the organization chart of the senior society is as follows. The aging society consists of one representative, two auditors, one general secretary, and two delegates from each Dong(a part of a village)province, a total of 12 directors. The senior society as a native group has an organizational structure similar to that of the Haengwon Village organization and has independent accounting procedures.

<Figure 4> shows the organizational chart of Haengwon Village, and <Table 1> which summarizes the village activities. Looking at both of them together, the following structure of the village and decision-making structure can be seen.

First, there are fishing gye and ranch associations, which are native groups related to commons. "According to the necessity to use and manage commons, various organizations such as forests gye and fishing gye were created within the village, and villages were formed as a result of various processes and practice of forming and re-forming commons" (Jeong, Yeong-shin, 2017: 89). Organizations related to commons are 'nested enterprise' in terms of the way of Ostrum. They use and manage the commons of the sea and the ranch, and conduct use, management, surveillance, enforcement, dispute resolution, and operational activities.

Second, the native groups in the village are divided into life and livelihood area, but it has a complex nature. Let's look briefly at the activities of the Women Society. Most members of women society work in the fishing gye. The women society consists of 130 women from 30s to 70s. This women society is the most active group to participate in social welfare activities, like youth society. In January 2009, the fishing gye built a diver undressing facility(bath house) equipped with a modern bathing facility with a fishing village development project subsidy(KRW 180 million). The bathhouse would open once a month and village event days with free charge. The Women Society provides bathing services for the elderly and some villagers with

23) The organization chart of Haengwon Village has been quoted from the phone-book of Haengwon-ri. The phone-book issued by the village is a very precious reference so that find out the information about the village.

limited mobility (Jeju History and Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 193 ~ 194). In this way, the activities of the women society have reached the whole area of life and livelihood. In addition, most of the villagers of Haengwon-ri belong to various organizations in the village.²⁴⁾ Some villagers can be members of the local community such as Dong meeting, ranch gye, village scholarship foundation, fishing gye, and women society. Commons are managed by the fishing gye, the ranch gye, and the wind power energy corporation. Each of them has its own decision-making structure and independent accounting. However, villagers often belong to several organizations at the same time. It is also considered to be natural. Therefore, it can be assumed that several commons within a village are strongly connected to each other, and the decision-making structure within a village has a wide range of possibilities to interact with each other.

Third, traditional and new organizations are organized in harmony in the village. In addition to the traditional organizations (senior society, women society, youth society as livelihood organizations, and fishing gye and ranch gye as economic organizations), Haengwon wind power energy corporation as new village organization came into the decision-making process of the village. Haengwon-ri is promoting a wind power generation as the common venture business for the development of the village. Haengwon wind power energy corporation is an economic organization like a fishing gye or a ranch gye, and it is a nested enterprise that sets modern corporation system and manages the wind as commons of the village. Although Haengwon wind energy corporation has different size and characteristics compared to past commons, Haengwon-ri villagers perceive fishing gye and ranch gye equally. Therefore, Haengwon wind power energy corporation is also a newly emerging company as a nested enterprise that manages commons like fishing gye or ranch gye. But it has not been recognized as the old organization with vested rights like fishing gye or ranch gye, so the profits of the corporation are used as a village fund for the villagers.

Fourth, the heads of the village and the dong are elected directly by villagers, and also auditors are elected too. The senior society and the Haengwon scholarship foundation also have its auditors too. It can be seen that there is a practical consultation and checking function among the native groups related to daily life as well as the village general meeting.²⁵⁾

Fifth, the association of ex-villagers of Haengwon-ri can get a scholarship of the village even though it doesn't have the right to make a decision for the village. There is the association in Jeju-si, in Seoul, in Pusan, and in Tongyoung. It is because of the recognition that the village talent is lack, So the village is giving the scholarship including the member of the association. The villagers said that the cause of the lack

24) Interviewed on June 12, 2019, Haengwon-ri village's officer(44years old)

25) The representative's term is two years and can be renewed. However, when we look at the election of the last representatives of Haengwon-ri in history, there was no one who repeated even once. The current representative's term is from 2018 to 2019, and the election will be held in December.

of the village's talent is due to the April 3 incident in 1948.(Jeju Historical Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 187). As a result of the incident, some people must live out of the village even though they have a deep local patriotism. (Jeju History and Culture Promotion Agency, 2010: 188). However, villagers said that the association member took their role enoughly for the development of the village. Therefore, it has been maintained until now.

Sixth, if you look at the village structure, you can see that the status of the development committee is high. The organization that has the greatest influence on decisions within the village is the development committee. The committee consists of the development chairperson and the development committee members, and each of the development committee members came into the village's decision-making structure. Decision-making in the most rural villages of Jeju was mainly led by the development committee (Jang Sung-soo, and Yang Yong-cheol, 1989). However, it is the policy of the government of the military dictatorship that the development committee is formed in the rural village. In the case of Jeju, on July 28, 1964, orders were issued for the <Ordinance Instructions for Promoting RI/Dong Development Committee>. The Jeju Governor shall report to the Minister of Home Affairs the status of the development committee by August 31 of that date. As a result of this, the head of the village was also the chairperson of the development committee, and all of the local organizations in the village were placed under the development committee.²⁶⁾ The development committee has become representative of villagers and villages. The development committee, which was created by the military dictatorship government to absorb the native groups of the village, had an extraordinary position in rural villages. Haengwon-ri was no exception. Currently, however, the development committee consists mainly of former representatives of villages and natural communities. It has been created a structure that the former representatives elected by villagers will enter the committee. And also the other members of the committee have been elected on the general assembly of a village. It is believed that the development committee has secured the native democratic nature of Haengwon-ri and gained the trust of the villagers.

Seventh, it is confirmed previously in this paper that the organizations that manage various commons such as a fishing gye, a ranch gye, and a wind power energy corporation, etc, operated and accounted independently. As the economic organization processes accounting independently, there is more room for conflict in the village community as the profits become more or less profitable. And there can be occurred many different opinions. In particular, the profit from wind power generation is equally divided into seven for six natural communities and the village. In the case of the village, the profits are to be used by the Haengwon Scholarship

26) <Ordinance Instructions for Promoting RI/Dong Development Committee>, National Archives of Korea

(source: <http://thearchives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?bid=200801012410&cid=0000000045&gubun=search>).

Foundation²⁷⁾. However, the Village and the Wind Power Energy Corporation cannot engage in how natural communities use their profits. Six natural communities have their own assets, have independent accounting, and have a decision-making structure called the community assembly. So, there is always a possibility of occurring a conflict in the village. In order to prevent it from happening, the representative of Haengwon-ri will serve as chairman of the Haengwon Wind Power Energy Corporation and the Haengwon Scholarship Foundation, the Ranch Association. That does not mean that the representative can exercise all of the one's powers. Any project cannot be undertaken alone by the chairman without the agreement of the village assemble, the development committee, the village board etc.²⁸⁾

3) The Matter of Commons and Decision-Making Subject.

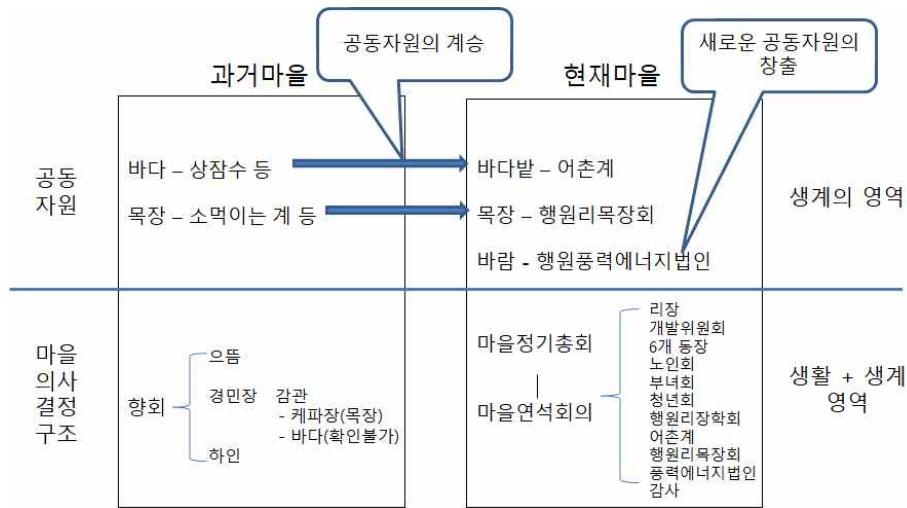
<Figure 5> is a diagram of the process of change of villages and the commons that we have seen so far. The structure of the village can be divided into a livelihood area and living area. The livelihood area is related to commons, and the rest areas are living and autonomy. The Mul-tong(spring water), which was the origin of Haengwon-ri, has disappeared, but sea and pasture as commons have been handed down to now. And new commons using wind has been created. Clearly, Haengwon Village's organization is evolving. The villagers have been more involved in systematic organization than the Eutteum system in the past, and the decision-making structure is being carried out in a multi-layered way through village general assemblies and various native groups. Because the regular general assembly of the village is held once a year, the village joint meeting was organized for smooth decision making. In the year 2012, when the Haengwon Scholarship Foundation was being promoted, the villagers gathered opinions through the villages joint meeting. In the past, the sea and pasture, which were commons, have been maintained by the fishing gye and the ranch gye, and the wind as the new commons is operated by Haengwon Wind Power Energy Incorporation.

And there is a newly rising subject of decision-making in the village. As the profits from the several areas of villages become diversified, it is strengthened the meaning of the subjects who have the right to make decisions in the village assembly. In other words, the distinction between those who just live in a village and those who are villagers becomes clear. It can be said that the qualification condition of the village member is strengthened rather. If you move in Haengwon-ri and register your move-in, you would not be given the right to vote in the assembly. The more the villages have wealth and more profit they generate from the commons, the more the

27) Revenues from wind power generation are also wastingly consumed in some natural villages. Current-head of the village has actively promoted the Haengwon Scholarship Foundation in order to avoid wasted use and to invest in the future of the village. (Interviewed on June 12, 2019, with the current head of Haengwon-ri(60 years old))

28) Interviewed on June 12, 2019, with the officer of Haengwon-ri.

conditions for joining the village will be strengthened.



자료 : 필자정리.

<Figure 5> The change of the structure of Decision Making in Haengwon-ri surrounding commons

“The right to make decisions in the village is to have a house of ownership in the village of Haengwon, which gives rise to rights. That is, it should be the head of household. There is no right to rent a house. In order to have the right of decision in the village, you have to apply for membership in each Dong(a part community of the village). In order to join, you have to pay the subscription fee(It’s also would be the investment too). The amount equivalent to a fraction of the asset size of the consent of each Dong hall be paid and if you keep your membership of it for 10 years, and then, you can join the village assembly member. This is called ‘having hot-su(훗수)’ means becoming one of the village’s decision-making unit. Haengwon-ri is very difficult to join because there are many village properties such as village ranches and land owned by the village. Even so, there are still some people who have recently paid for the subscription fee.

A number of people moving to Haengwon-ri is growing. However, about a third of them are not involved in the village operation, because they do not have a contribution to make village property formation. In order to join the village, they have to pay a substantial subscription fee.” (Interview with Kim Young Ho (79 years old) on April 18, 2019).

To make decisions within the village, you must have the right to make decisions. Having the right to make decisions is the matter called 'having 'hotsu(훗수)' as Haengwon-ri people say. In other words, 'entry-household-system(입호제도)' is still maintained. The system is "a traditional practice that villagers can get profits from the field, mountain, fisheries, etc. as a commons in natural villages of the traditional society. According to these practices, it is said that being a basic member of the

village is called 'entry-household(입호)', and the customary right of entry is called 'the right to entitlement(입호권)'²⁹⁾ As a villager, this is directly related to the matter of establishing the subject of the village. For maintaining the livelihood by using the commons which is an important means of production, the management of the entry-household is strict. Because the village must prevent overuse for the sustainable use of commons. Even at the time when only the use value of the commons was considered, "the right of entry-household is automatically given to the first son who inherited his father. But other persons who moved in the village from other places, and other sons were not given automatically the right even though they were living in the village. If they want to get the right, they must live in the village and must make their livelihood in the village, and pay a certain amount of money as the fee of 'entry household', and must obtain approval from the village assembly, and pass some process to help other villagers for a certain period of time, and gain the trust of village's member. It was only possible to be recognized as a neighbor.³⁰⁾

In Haengwon-ri, the one should join Dong(a natural community) and build trust with Dong's people for 10years, and obtain approval from ri(a village). In particular, as the value of common assets has increased sharply in these days, The matter of defining the subjects who have the right to make decisions in villages is becoming more important. It can be inferred that the conflict between migrants and villagers in Jeju is partly due to these factors.³¹⁾ According to the development project, the issue of distribution of profits arising from the sale of commons will naturally ask the question "Who is a village member?" For example, when the village ranch cooperative association and the village association members do not coincide with each other, conflicts often arise due to the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of village common ranch. There are many lawsuits to obtain the recognition of the qualification of a village cooperative ranch.

On the other hand, it is believed when development issues such as national projects are generated, Many villages strongly ask someone their identity. Nevertheless, some people, who oppose construction of a naval base or the construction of a second airport, live in the village, they are not recognized as village people. Because it is related to the customs that people maintain their life by using commons and try to keep their vested rights. And some people can't express their opinion against the naval base or the second Jeju airport, because they are not living in the village. It's same reason almost.

29) The Korean system of entry-household(입호) is similar to that of Japan. A comparative study of the two countries on the entry-household system will be the next task.(waks.aks.ac.kr/subject.aspx?dataID=31651).

30) waks.aks.ac.kr/subject.aspx?dataID=31651.

31) In the past, people have been volunteering such as cleaning villages, taking part in a silver party, and so on before they join the village association. However, immigrants tend to join villages first and then participate in village events such as village cleaning. (Interviewed on June 12, 2019 with the officer of the village(44 years old)).

5. CONCLUSIONS: the study of the change of commons and villages is summarized

This study focuses on the relationship between villages and commons, and analyzes the complex activities in the use and management of commons centered on the rural community. Haengwon-ri has made wind a new commons. The village has attracted wind power energy project and installed wind turbines in the villages. As an organization that uses and manages the wind, the wind power energy corporation of Haengwon is constructed as a nested business unit like the fishing gye. It is generating stable profits by adapting to the new and renewable energy policy and the new electric power market. Looking at the successful case of Haengwon-ri creating a new common, I can summarize the management of the commons in the past and present as follows.

First, There is a difference between the past and present in the management of commons.

In the past, village members directly participated in commons management and acquired the right to use. Villagers took responsibility for the management of commons and contributed to commons management, and obtained 'legitimacy' of dividing the profits of commons. However, there is a case in which the villagers do not contribute to the management of commons but pay dividends of profits from commons. There is a possibility that the issue of the legitimacy of joint use of commons, profit dividend, and the problem of recognition of members may come out again.

Second, It is not different from the past that project units managing commons are included in the village's decision-making structure. There are many economic organizations such as pensions, guesthouses, restaurants, farm corporations, and a co-producing group of agricultural cooperatives. These are not involved in the village's decision-making structure. Only the organizations that manage the commons of the sea, the ranch, and the wind are included in the village's decision-making structure. The fact that a project unit managing a commons enters the decision-making structure of the village means that commons create common-wealth or co-production base. Although project units managing commons make their own decisions and conduct various sub-projects, they ultimately determine the management direction of commons through the consensus process of village members through the village assembly. This makes it clear that commons are not for personal wealth.

Third, at the core of the study of the commons proposed by Ostrum, commons are transferred and preserved through the autonomous structure of the village.

Next, I would like to summarize some things to think about commons research in the future.

First, it is a variation factor of commons. In general, commons are perceived as being dismantled or destroyed by the enclosure movement. Especially, there are periods in Korea that can be called enclosures. First, it is the period of Japanese occupation. The Japanese Empire introduced the private property system through the land survey project. In 1931, the village's legal personality was removed and the property and land of the village were transferred to the Japanese Government-General of Korea. In addition, in 1934, the ranch gye in each village was absorbed by the village common ranch cooperative and tax was imposed. It became a turning point that the property of the village turned into state property. Next is the military dictatorship era of the 1960s and 1970s. The development committee was established to absorb the autonomy of the village and control the village. And the ownership of villages is transferred to the military through the 「Local Autonomy Provisional Measures Law」. Again, the village property will be nationalized. These changes in the social and political external environment forcefully dismantled commons. In addition, factors such as technology and economic development should be considered. The development of farm machinery has made it impossible to use the ranch. With the spread of supply of water and sewage, Mul-tong almost disappeared. In Japan, this is defined as 'underutilization' and seeking to utilize commons. I would like to call this a "divergence of commons and needs". In the future, in order to narrow the distance between commons and needs, we must find a way to find the needs of the villagers. Haengwon has succeeded in finding new demand for wind in response to the renewable energy market. However, the case of Haengwon may be a special case. This is because the only place in Jeju where wind can be developed is in the wind power generation district designated. It is time to discuss the relationship between the commons and the market to overcome the divergence between commons and needs. I will make this a future task.

Second, most of the commons that have been created recently by injecting administrative budget. As well as building assets such as town hall, wind power generation complex is also the same. Of course, some villages invested a certain amount of money but it is possible because the village has applied for large-scale administrative support. As the primary industry declined, Haengwon came to find new sources of income. As a result, the village development project was promoted from the viewpoint of attraction of foreign capital as the natural village, the province, the local government and the country moved in a consistent manner. The way of profit structure obtained from the Haengwon wind power energy generation is the so-called "Jidae(지대, means 'rent')". In the past, commons created profit by working together, but the wind power energy generation would not mobilize the common labor force of the villagers. If the result of pursuing the Jidae(rent) on using commons is derived, is this a proper commons management? The process of making wind as a commons in Haengwon was the village autonomy itself. Through leadership of the village's head, continuous communication among villagers, and democratic decision-making,

the village created a long-term profit structure by making a new commons. But this is no different from rent-seeking. This is because the issue of recognition of the subject has been highlighted in order to distribute the profit. In addition, as the administration funds were put into operation, it was not possible to look into problems only within the village. It should be not only exclusively enjoying the wealth created by the commons with the complete structure inside the village, but also raising the public interest of the community. On the other hand, there is a 'Citizens' Capitalization Movement' as an example of a commons movement that is being newly created in the city. In order to prevent the movement from becoming a rent-seeking movement, it is necessary a study on establishing various internal rules, researching on profit distribution and social value creation.

Third, the value of commons is changing. In the past, people enjoyed the using value of it for survival, in the present, the value of the property is now being highlighted. As the value of commons fluctuates, it is expected that the norms for villagers to judge commons may change. In addition, if commons are changing, the problem of the distribution of profits will change. Haengwon-ri started the scholarship project by expanding the scope of the scholarship to the Haengwon-ri's people. However, there is no objection to enjoy exclusively the wealth created by the commons in the completed structure within the village. The challenge is how to do for exerting the social value of commons. It should also be concerned with the increase of the public interest of the community. For example, there are 101 fishing village gye in Jeju, each of them are using and managing their own seas. The villages with fishing village gye are interested in the issues of neighboring villages and should find the point of solidarity. Now, I would like to emphasize that new challenges are emerging to seek solidarity among villages through the commons.

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